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The Suffragist

OFFICIAL WEEKLY ORGAN OF
THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY

SATURDAY, JANUARY 18, 1919

Drawn for The Suffragist by Nina E. Allender

U. S. Senate: "Democracy—Piffle!"

National Woman's Party

(Incorporated, 1918)

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Notes of the Week

Republican Committee Endorses National Suffrage

At its meeting in Chicago on January 10, the national committee of the Republican Party declared for universal suffrage by national amendment. That the committee expects suffrage to be an accomplished fact in a short time is indicated by the plans they are making, through their Woman's Committee, for women's organizations in every state and the active participation of women in the national affairs of the party. It is more up to the committee to make good their professions by obtaining the vote of one more Republican Senator.

Ratifying Federal Amendments

IF THE rapidity with which the state legislatures are ratifying the federal prohibition amendment can be any sort of guide to the way in which they will act upon the suffrage amendment when the Senate releases it, suffragists may be most hopeful of speedy success for their measure at the hands of the states. With the first ratification of the prohibition amendment barely one year ago, it has now been ratified by twenty-one states. Six states have ratified prohibition since January 1, 1919. Doubtless its ratification will be complete in another month. The opponents of suffrage probably feel that their only hope is to delay action in the Senate.

Rhode Island Yielding to One-Sided Democracy

THE State of Rhode Island, one of the few remaining ones where the owning of property is a qualification for voting, is considering through its legislature the question of universal manhood suffrage. The governer of the state has urged in his annual message the elimination of this qualification in view of the returning soldiers who he considers should have a vote while many of them own no property. The governor makes no mention of women, or the imperative need that they be given the ballot.

Missouri Like Senator Reed

IN VIEW of the determined stand of Senator Reed of Missouri against the enfranchisement of women it is interesting to find that in his state there is a direct legal discrimination against women which does not exist in any other state. A Missouri law provides an eight hour working day for men and a nine-hour day for women. In no other state is the minimum set higher for women than for men.

Arkansas Working for Full Suffrage

A NEW constitution for the state of Arkansas which was voted upon recently and defeated contained a clause to give women full right of suffrage instead of the partial suffrage which they already have in the state. Since the defeat of the constitution petitions are being circulated in the state to submit certain parts of the rejected constitution again to the voters—these articles include woman suffrage.

Women on Juries in New York

A BILL has been introduced into the New York Assembly to permit women to sit on trial juries in the municipal courts. Why restrict the presence of women on juries to the municipal court?

There are two women members of the New York Assembly who will doubtless both be working for equal representation for women. One is a Democrat and the other a Republican.

Progress of Another Amendment

A number of women's organizations in New York City have banded together to secure support for measures before the legislature which effect women. Among the bills they are backing dealing with the employment of women are the Eight Hour, the Minimum Wage, the Office Workers, Health Insurance, Elevator and Transportation.

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The Woman Industrial Worker

IT was to be expected that someone would make a statement like this: "The same patriotic appeals which were responsible for the entry of so many women into industry during the period of the war should be continued after the war to induce women workers to vacate positions accepted during the war emergency."

It is to be hoped that women will not allow themselves to be put out of work when the plea is made to them that this is their patriotic duty. There are other and juster ways of solving the problem of the woman and the returned soldier as rivals for the same job.

It would not be impossible to reduce the hours of work and employ both the man and the woman. Another solution would be to take out of industry all the children who are now employed in this country. That would make room for a large number of soldiers. In a recent report of the Children's Bureau figures which are not complete show in nine average states more than four thousand children under sixteen working in factories, mines and quarries, many of them working more than eight hours a day. These figures do not take into account the large number of agricultural child-workers.

Most emphatically it is not the patriotic duty of any woman to give up her work now, but rather her duty to keep it.

Sweedish Women to Vote

ACCORDING to a cable dispatch which was received a few days ago by the Swedish minister in Washington, Mr. Ekengren, sweeping electoral reforms have been effected in Sweden, providing the "Most extended universal suffrage for both men and women, irrespective of taxability."

The protests of Swedish women against their continued disfranchisement had grown very strong in the last few months. Among the meetings which the Swedish suffragists held this winter was one in honor of Susan B. Anthony. The resolutions passed at this meeting contained the following paragraph:

"It is with feelings of bitterness that we contemplate the fact that Sweden has not been permitted to be counted among the progressive states in this respect."

British Women Find Many Things to Do with Vote

THE Vote for December 27, contains the following item:

"An instance has come to hand which will show the value of the newly acquired Parliamentary power. No medical inspection of schools exists in Ireland. Women's organizations and such authorities as the Medical officer of Health, of the Local Government Board, have long urged the necessity for this reform, and it is included in the program of the Women's Political League. Recently the Treasury has made a grant in aid of such medical inspection, but is clogged by the condition that half the money must be raised from voluntary sources, as local bodies have no power to use the rates for the purpose. It is obvious that no scheme can be worked satisfactorily on this basis. Legislative action is necessary before the local bodies can do anything, and women can now exert actual pressure in this direction.

While Women Go to Jail

THE President talks in Europe about democracy. The Senate still keeps the federal suffrage amendment in committee while almost daily American women are arrested and sent to jail again for asking for their rights. For over a year the amendment has been before the Senate, and still there are Senators who stupidly wonder why women protest at inaction.

For the purpose of calling the attention of the whole country to the opposition which has blocked democracy for American women and to the fact that President Wilson while talking about democracy abroad is doing nothing to win it at home, the watchfires of freedom were lighted in front of the White House on New Year's Day. Each speech made in Europe by the President was thrown into the watch fire as soon as it reached America by cable. For three days and nights they were permitted to burn, but suddenly upon the fourth day, on January 4, for no reason at all, Colonel Ridley gave orders for the park police to arrest women who put logs on the fire.

Miss Alice Paul, Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, of Philadelphia; Mrs. Annie Arneil, of Delaware; Mrs. Phoebe Munnecke, of Detroit; Miss Julia Emory, of Baltimore, and Miss Mary Dubrow, of Passaic, N. J., were all placed under arrest. They were charged with breaking a federal park regulation, but when tried in court the charge was changed to building a bonfire between sundown and sunrise.

It was only last August that the court was amazed to learn that women do not recognize the authority of the court dignity over them so long as they have no voice in the government. With almost as great surprise the court learned at the trial on Monday that women who believe in self-government still refuse to recognize the court. The hours dragged on amid ominous silence on the part of the prisoners: the bailiff, the clerk and the judge rumbled on according to best known court procedure. Police witnesses were called upon, the almanac was consulted to find out the hour of sunset in Washington, D. C.; and at length the judge committed three of the prisoners to five days in the District jail and three of them to ten days, all of whom went on a hunger strike at once.

ON THE following day, January 7, Colonel Ridley, evidently changed his mind about the crime of starting fires between sundown and sunrise, and so when the front yard of the President was again illuminated with the burning of the President's speech on democracy, delivered in Turin, it was allowed to burn on for three hours. The flames ran across the walk and down the gutters as the crowd persisted in kicking it about, while Miss Harriet Andrews, of Kansas City, kept the fire glowing with the help of Mrs. A. P. Winston of Washington, D. C., wife of Professor Winston, formerly of the University of Colorado, and Mrs. Edmund C. Evans, of Ardmore, Pa.

Suddenly from the mysterious darkness came the order to stop the fire, which the police did very effectively. No sooner was the fire quite dead, however, till they awakened to the fact that a second fire was flaming all about the base of Lafayette statue. Over to Lafayette scrambled the United States Park Police in full force. Amid much pushing and puffing, they managed almost to put out this fire, when to their utter astonishment they saw yet another fire burning at the opposite corner of the park. Here, there, everywhere the flames arose; the whole District seemed to be burning with indignation against the President who has so completely forgot the demands of his own country.

It was more than the United States Park Police could bear. In evident terror lest they should be kept guarding these sacred hours between sundown and sunrise, they arrested all three women, and took them to the detention house for the night.

On the following day the court again solemnly sentenced three women to five days in jail because they had demanded the right of self-government while the President talks about it.

IN THE afternoon, Mrs. M. Toscan Bennett, of Hartford, Conn., Treasurer of the Connecticut branch, and Miss Matilda Young, of Washington, D. C., went forth again to start a fire in front of the White House. Miss Young carried a torch, and Mrs. Bennett took the speech of the President made the day previous at the statue of Columbus in Genoa.

Miss Young lit the fire with her torch and Mrs. Bennett said as she burned these latest words of the President:

"President Wilson said, when he spoke at the statue of Columbus, that Columbus had discovered a land of freedom, and that being free America desired to secure freedom for other nations.

"Women resent the claim that America is free while twenty millions of its citizens are denied enfranchisement. We believe that President Wilson would do greater honor to Columbus in perfecting the freedom of the land he discovered than in boasting of its perfection in Italy.

"Because the great new country of America represents the hope of freedom to the world, it is encumbent upon us to keep faith and realize freedom fully.

"If President Wilson and his party are content with half measures of freedom, the women of the country will keep the flame of liberty ablaze until complete victory is assured and the words of the President are translated into reality."

This time the police did not hesitate at all, but arrested both women immediately and took them to the detention house. On Thursday morning they appeared for trial. With as much court haste as is possible both were sentenced to five days each in jail.

Mrs. Bennett did not question the decision of the court, but declared that, "Belonging to a disfranchised class, I hold that I have the right under the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence to do anything necessary to remedy that condition. We consider our watch fires and the burning of President Wilson's speeches on democracy a very mild protest which we will continue to make."

ELEVEN women are in jail, all of them hunger striking as a protest against their illegal imprisonment. Contrary to every rule and precedent, no communication with the outside world is permitted. Members of the Woman's Party and other friends have asked every day since the imprisonments began to see one or more of the prisoners. Mr. Zinkham, the superintendent of the jail, has refused to let anyone in, and has also left orders that nothing shall be accepted for the comfort of the prisoners. On the first night of imprisonments, members of the Party, remembering the experiences of prisoners in the past, took blankets to the jail but were told that they could not leave them. On the following day books were taken to the jail, but these, too, were refused.

Eleven American women are in jail for demanding that the President do something to win political freedom at home!

The President talks on.

Guilty by the Almanac

By Mildred Morris

THE four prisoners, females, remain seated as the fat bailiff calls the honorable court of the District of Columbia, United States of America, into session and the judge mounts his wooden throne.

He is a kind faced judge. He does not attempt to conceal his pity. The fat bailiff looks pained at the failure of the prisoners to rise in honor of the honorable court but he, the judge, understands. Poor creatures! Just females, made by God in one of His frivolous moods for the business of childbearing.

Finally the judge speaks:

"Clerk, call names of prisoners."

Clerk calls, "Mary Dubrow." Silence.

"Mary Dubrow," calls clerk again. Silence.

"Mary Dubrow," shouts fat bailiff. Silence. Fat bailiff looks accusingly at prisoners, who are engaged in reading, undisturbed by the noises of the courtroom.

"Julia Emory," calls the clerk. Silence.

"Julia Emory," calls the clerk again. Silence.

"Julia Emory," shouts fat bailiff and looks accusingly at the "Smart Set."

"Annie Arneil," calls the clerk. Silence.

"Annie Arneil," calls the clerk again. Silence.

"Annie Arneil," shouts fat bailiff. Silence. Fat bailiff perspires from emotion.

"Phoebe Munnicke," calls the clerk. Silence.

"Phoebe Munnicke," calls the clerk again. Silence.

"Phoebe Munnicke, shouts fat bailiff. Silence. Fat bailiff looks at the honorable court with a hurt expression as if to say: "That's the way they treat us and we're the honorable court of the District of Columbia, ain't we?"

Kind-faced Judge—"Who can identify the prisoners?"

A policeman steps forward, identifies first young female as Mary Dubrow, second female as Phoebe Munnicke, third female as Annie Arneil and the young female on the end as Julia Emory.

Prosecuting attorney arises. He is a tall, nice looking young man with a cleft in his chin. He announces that the charge against the prisoners is to wit: that on Pennsylvania Avenue, Northwest, in Washington, District of Columbia, they did aid and abet in setting fire to certain combustibles consisting of logs, paper, oil, etc., between the setting of the sun in said District of Columbia on the fifth day of January and the rising of the sun on the sixth day of January, 1919 A. D.

Fat bailiff looks shocked to hear it. The court orders prisoners arraigned.

"Julia Emory," calls the clerk. The young female named Julia Emory does not respond.

"Bailiffs, tell the lady to rise," says the court.

Two bailiffs rush to side of young female named Julia Emory. They gently ask her to rise. She continues seated.

"Assist the lady to rise," orders the court. A bailiff clinging to each arm, the young female, Julia Emory, rises.

"Do you plead guilty or not guilty?" asks the court. Young female, Julia Emory, does not like to stand. She sits. Bailiffs assist her to her feet again. This time one keeps his arm around her waist and thus supported she seems to find a standing posture more comfortable.

"Do you wish a trial by judge or jury?" the court asks. She does not answer. Bailiff withdraws support. She sits.

The other prisoners are assisted to their feet by bailiffs.

"We'll go on with the testimony," says the judge finally. "Swear the witnesses."

Nine policemen come forward.

First witness called. A young policeman with sandy hair.

"Tell all you know," says the nice looking young prosecuting attorney. Young policeman proceeds to tell all he knows.

"Well," says the young policeman, "It was on the fifth day of January and I happened to be on Pennsylvania Avenue. I looked at my watch and it was 5:30 and—"

Nice Looking Young Prosecuting Attorney —"You looked at your watch and it was about 5:30?"

Policeman—"Yes, sir, about 5:30. I looked at my watch and I saw these ladies here in the park putting wood on a fire in an urn. I threw the wood on the pavement and they kept putting it back. Each time I'd try to put out the fire they'd throw on more wood. They'd keep on lighting new fires and I'd keep putting them out."

Nice Looking Young Prosecuting Attorney —"Did you command them to stop?"

Policeman—"Yes, sir, I commanded them to stop and I said: 'You ladies don't want to be arrested, do you?' "

Court wants to hear Park regulation contrary to and in violation of which prisoners are charged with acting.

While nice looking young prosecuting attorney is reading the Act in a musical voice, the young female, Julia Emory, creates a commotion. She has left her seat to go to the railing which separates prisoners and court officials from audience and stands there chatting with friends while bailiffs beseech her in whispers to return to her chair.

Second witness gives testimony. A stout policeman with sandy hair.

Nice Looking Young Prosecuting Attorney —"Do you know what time the sun in the District of Columbia set on Jan. 5 and rose on Jan. 6?"

Witness realizes importance of question and answers in impressive tones: "The sun in the District of Columbia set at 5 o'clock Jan. 5 and rose at 7:28 o'clock Jan. 6."

Nice looking young prosecuting attorney looks triumphantly at the judge.

"How do you know what time the sun rose and set on those days?" asks the judge of witness.

"The weather bureau told me," witness answers.

Judge seems in doubt as to whether a policeman's testimony that the sun rises and sets is expert testimony. "Does the policeman know from other than his own knowledge whether the weather bureau has informed him correctly?" Policeman does not.

"I think we should have something more official," says the judge.

"Would the judge consider an almanac official," the nice looking prosecuting attorney inquires? The judge would. The nice looking young prosecuting attorney retires to find an almanac.

Every one waits breathless. At last to know what time the sun rises and sets in the District of Columbia! To know almanacly!

Fifteen minutes pass—a half hour. An hour. Another half hour passes. At last the nice looking young prosecuting attorney returns with almanac.

There is tense silence as he reads. Sonorously he reads the almanac. And when he is done, every one looks accusingly at the stout policeman witness. Wretched creature wearing the uniform of law and order who would lead the trusting sun of the District of Columbia to disregard the almanac and rise two minutes too late and continue shining twelve minutes too long!

Prisoners offer no testimony to refute almanac. Are adjudged guilty and each is sentenced to pay a fine of $5 or to serve five days in jail.

TWO more females called before the court —Alice Paul and Mrs. Lawrence Lewis.

With female named Phoebe Munnicke they are charged with lighting fires on a public highway in the District of Columbia, said highway being the sidewalk in front of the White House, choosing for their crime hours between sunrise Jan. 4, and sunset, Jan. 5. Prisoners are assisted by bailiffs to rise. Make no response to questions of court.

Policeman who is first witness testifies that said female prisoners were tending fires in front of White House at 5:20 o'clock on the afternoon of Jan. 4 and, when he put said fires out, said female prisoners again built fires on the sidewalk in front of the White House, caus-

ing the President's own sidewalk to expand, with the President in Europe!

Almanac read to show that the sun in the District of Columbia rose at the same time on Jan. 5 as on Jan. 6.

Prisoners adjudged guilty. Sentenced to pay a fine of $5 or serve five days in jail.

"I am willing," said the kind faced judge, "to put you on probation on the promise of good behaviour. I can't force probation on you and you need not take it, but you may have it on the promise of good behaviour."

Bailiff leads in young female named Julia Emory and young female named Mary Dubrow. They are arraigned on a second charge of violating Park regulations.

First witness called.

Nice Looking Young Prosecuting Attorney —"What did you see these ladies do in Lafayette Park on the fourth day of January after six o'clock, Mr. Officer?"

Witness—"They were building fires in a big urn with oil, wood and rope. The ladies were putting wood in the urn as fast as the police threw it out."

Almanac read to show that sun rose in the District on Jan. 4 at the same time as on Jan. 5.

Young females adjudged guilty of second charge. Sentenced to pay another fine of $5 or serve another five days in jail.

"I am willing," says the kind faced judge, "to put you on probation on the promise of good behaviour. I can't force probation on you and you need not take it, but you may have it on the promise of good behaviour."

A PROCESSION forms. The six female prisoners led by the fat bailiff march from the courtroom followed by three other bailiffs.

The sun in the District of Columbia rose at 4:48 o'clock Jan. 4, Jan. 5, and Jan. 6. Remember this, for it is important to the nation! So important that a court in the United States is more concerned about it than interested in the rights of human beings.

The Suffrage Damage Suits

By Matthew E. O'Brien, Attorney for the Woman's Party

THE January term of the United States Court for the Eastern District of Virginia opened in Alexandria, Monday, January 6.

On the calendar for trial at this term of the court are the eight damage suits brought by the suffrage pickets who were unlawfully confined and abused when so confined at the workhouse in Occoquan in the fall of 1917.

At that time thirty women were taken to the workhouse where they were subjected to all kinds of indignities, were placed in solitary confinement in the men's quarters and denied every right accorded to other prisoners at this penal institution. On habeas corpus they were ordered released by Judge Waddill of the United States Court of the Eastern District of Virginia.

Thereafter they filed sixteen suits for damages, aggregating $800,000 against the Commissioners of the District of Columbia, the Superintendent of the District Jail, the Superintendent of the Virginia Workhouse, and the Assistant Superintendent of the Workhouse. Eight of these cases; those against the Commissioners of the District of Columbia and Superintendent Zinkham of the District Jail, are on the calendar of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, awaiting trial. Their place on the calendar will probably not be reached for a year. The eight cases against W. H. Whittaker, at that time superintendent of the Virginia Workhouse at Occoquan, and his deputy, Captain Reams, are pending in the United States Court for the Eastern District of Virginia.

The cases in the Virginia Court first came up at the July term of the court. At the request of the government officials, a continuance of the cases was granted by the court. The letter from the assistant corporation counsel of the District of Columbia requesting the continuance was as follows:

"Washington, D. C., Jan. 12, 1918.

"My Dear Mr. O'Brien:

"I wish you would advise me as soon as you conveniently can, what will be done with the suffragist cases now pending against Whittaker and Reams in the United States District Court at Alexandria.

"I have heard rumors, the truth of which you will understand better than I, that these cases will be dropped if the President comes out in favor of woman suffrage. This I understand, he will do and certainly hope so as I am personally in favor of it and have been for many years. But in case of his delay in taking any action, will you agree to continue these cases for the present?

"Very truly yours,

"(Signed) F. H. Stevens,

"Asst. Corporation Counsel, D. C."

When the time for the October term of the court to convene arrived, the epidemic of influenza prevented the holding of court so that there was no trial of these cases and they were continued until the January term.

Now that the January term is about to open, another request for continuance of the cases was made by the defendants. It was hoped by the suffragists to force the trial of the damage suits in spite of the desire by the government officials for further delay, so that the public might know how the administration appointees try to intimidate and terrorize women who have the temerity to petition for suffrage. In spite of their efforts continuance of the cases was granted.

At the opening of the United States District Court, however, Assistant Corporation Council Stevens made a motion that the cases be continued, that there was a prospect of a settlement of the case and that it was probable that they might be settled out of court. Matthew E. O'Brien, council for the plaintiffs said that he could not oppose a continuance if there was a prospect of a settlement or time set, that he did not want a lengthy continuance. Judge Waddill said he would continue the case temporarily to allow negotiations for settlements to be entered into.

The only offense charged against the suffragists in these cases was unlawful assembling, this unlawful assembling being the picketing of the White House in the demand for woman suffrage. Since their trial, their conviction in the police court in the District of Columbia, and their unlawful transfer to Occoquan where they were subjected to cruel and unusual punishment, the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia has decided that the action of the police in arresting, and the police court in convicting the pickets was unlawful; that they were guilty of no offense; and that the real violators of the laws were the police who arrested them and not the pickets.

It will be interesting to note what a Virginia jury will say should be the measure of damages when refined and educated women who have committed no offense are chained in a dungeon, confined in men's quarters, assaulted and abused by officials of the institution, denied the right to see counsel or their friends and kept in solitary confinement.

The names of the plaintiffs in these cases are: Mrs. Mary Nolan, of Jacksonville, Fla.; Mrs. John Winters Brannan, of New York; Miss Julia Emory, of Baltimore; Mrs. Alice Cosu, of New Orleans; Mrs. Henry Butterworth, of New York; and Miss Dorothy Day, of New York.

Roosevelt and the Federal Amendment

THE National suffrage amendment never had a stauncher friend than Theodore Roosevelt and his death means a great loss to the movement. His passion for justice aroused by the denial of political freedom to fellow citizens, he championed the struggle for the passage of the Susan B. Anthony amendment with the fiery vigor he gave to the support of every cause he believed deserving his interest and energies, and to him the unenfranchised women of America may be grateful for much of the sentiment created for the national suffrage amendment in the last two years.

He was the first public man of note to endorse the proposed federal amendment.

This great American was never too busy to receive suffrage delegations, never too occupied to aid their cause. Some of his strongest appeals for suffrage, addressed to Republicans in Congress, urging their vote for the Anthony amendment and the direction of their efforts to hasten its passage, were dictated from the sickbed.

His last appeal in behalf of the women seeking political rights was written just three days before his death. It was contained in a letter to Senator Moses, of New Hampshire. He wrote:

"You know how fond I am of Cabot Lodge, and I think he has done wonderful work during the past three months in international matters. But it is a misfortune from the standpoint of the war and from the standpoint of party expediency that he and Senator Wadsworth, of New York, and some of your New England senators should have been so bitter about woman suffrage.

"I earnestly hope that you can see your way clear to support the national amendment. It is coming, anyhow, and it ought to come. When states like New York and Illinois adopt it, it can't be called a wildcat experience. I very earnestly hope you can see your way clear to support the amendment."

IT was on May 6, 1916, just before the national convention of all parties, that Col. Roosevelt made his first public statement in support of an equal suffrage amendment to the constitution. To a delegation of women who called on him that day as representatives of the Woman's Party, he said:

"I believe the time has come for a greater and truer nationalism in this country. I believe in the nationalization of the issues which affect not only men but women also. The great problems of our country are national. In the matter of railroads, for example, forty-six different sets of laws for their regulation merely check and handicap their development and management. A universal federal law is essential for railroads. In the same way, the question of enfranchisement of women has become national and demands federal action.

"I therefor heartily endorse any federal amendment which shall substantially provide:

"First, That the right of the citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States on account of sex.

"Second, Congress shall have power and it shall be by the duty of Congress by appropriate legislation to enforce the provisions of this article."

This statement gave other prominent men the courage to express themselves in favor of such an amendment and undoubtedly had a considerable effect in making suffrage more of an issue than it otherwise would have been, in the platforms of the national parties.

ON Aug. 8, of the same year, Col. Roosevelt wrote concerning the Woman's Party:

"I welcome the formation of an organization especially organized in the suffrage states to secure the passage of the federal amendmnt.

"The time is ripe for the passage of the amendment. There is more widespread demand for it than for the passage of any recent constitutional amendment. Twelve states have already enfranchised women without producing even to the smallest degree any of the evils prophesied. The women in these twelve states should certainly use their ballot on behalf of their sisters in the other states. Such action is precisely like that of the men who use their ballots to force the abolition of child labor, the passage of the workmen's compensation laws the adoption of protective tariff or the enactment of legislation to secure the military and naval preparedness which is vital to the very existence of the nation.

"It is absurd to stigmatize one movement as 'blackmail' unless the other movements are also stigmatized as 'blackmail.' As for 'sex antagonism,' that is due to the men who discriminate against women purely because of sex, and not to the women who merely seek to do away with such discrimination. The special women's organizations should act in this manner as men (and women) do in the movements for national defense. They should not pardon misconduct, or mischievous and wrongheaded attitudes in a public man merely because he is right on this question, but they should make his attitude on the question the consideration of primary importance.

AT about this time Colonel Roosevelt strongly urged Mr. Charles Evans Hughes, Republican candidate for president, to declare his support of the national suffrage amendment, making it one of the points upon which he was campaigning. Mr. Hughes, shortly after receiving these communications from Colonel Roosevelt, made a declaration in support of the amendment.

WHEN the suffrage measure came before the House of Representatives for debate and vote in January, 1918, Colonel Roosevelt again endeavored to use his influence in its behalf, making a particular appeal to various Republican members of Congress who were not yet committed to the endorsement of the amendment.

FOLLOWING the passage of the measure by the House, the Colonel co-operated in the campaign upon the Senate by personal interviews with Republican senators who were not supporting the measure and by personal and public letters to them. He invited one Republican senator, for instance, who was hesitating about his stand on the suffrage resolution, to visit him at Oyster Bay that he might go over the arguments in favor of the amendment with him at length. He also spoke for the amendment when opportunity offered as when he advocated its endorsement in a speech before the Maine Republican Convention last spring.

A sample of the letters which he wrote to the Republican senators who hesitated about their vote on suffrage is the one sent last April to Senator Kellogg, of Minnesota:

"The Hon. Frank D. Kellogg, Washington, D. C.:

"My dear Senator Kellogg: I earnestly hope you can see your way clear to support the woman suffrage amendment, and I am taking the liberty of sending copies of this letter to certain other senators. I would not venture to write you on any ordinary matter of legislation, but this affects our citizenship as a whole in this great war.

"Many of the old world nations have already put their women on a footing of political equality with their men. We ought not to be behindhand; and surely if there is any country in the world fit and ready for full democracy for its women, it is this country. Our women at this moment are giving their sons and husbands, their time, their money, and their services to the war. They are doing exactly as much as the men are doing.

"I believe most earnestly, as you know, that the enjoyment of right should be predicated upon the performance of duty, but the women of America are doing their duty just as much as the men, and they should receive the same rights as the men. It seems to me that the spirit of every great deed of Abraham Lincoln, the spirit that directed his whole course in life, was precisely the spirit in which we are working for this amendment; and I do most earnestly hope that every Republican senator will see his way clear to vote for it.

"With high regard,

(signed) "Faithfully yours,

"Theodore Roosevelt."

"April 26, 1918."

Does New Hampshire Want Woman Suffrage?

WITHOUT the delay of referring the matter to a committee, the resolution demanding Senator Moses' favorable vote on the federal suffrage amendment passed the New Hampshire House of Representatives on Thursday, January 9, by a majoirity of seventy-five votes. Out of the 345 votes cast, 210 were for the resolution and 135 against.

The resolution has still to pass the upper house of the legislature, but organizers of the Woman's Party, who are working in New Hampshire are confident it will be passed there very shortly.

THE state of New Hampshire is taking every opportunity to show Senator Moses how thoroughly out of accord he is with his constituents when he votes against the federal suffrage amendment. When Senator Moses decided to change his mind and not consider a majority of legislators' signatures to a petition demanding that he vote for the amendment as sufficient proof that his state legislature desires the amendment passed, the men of New Hampshire, as well as the women, began an intensive campaign to do all that Senator Moses has asked to prove that New Hampshire favors the federal suffrage amendment.

They immediately began lining up all the forces for suffrage in the legislature, which opened on Wednesday, January 1. The first day of the session was marked by the only heated state contest over the machinery of the legislature—the election of the speaker of the house. Members of the National Woman's Party, who are campaigning for Senator Moses' vote under the leadership of Miss Doris Stevens, Legislative chairman of the Woman's Party, asked Charles W. Varney, and the opposing candidate for the speakership, Charles W. Tobey, before the caucases met on the evening of the opening session for statements on the federal amendment. Mr. Varney, who is reputed to be a strong opponent of suffrage and who was the choice of Senator Moses for the speakership, flatly refused to make a statement. Mr. Tobey, on the other hand, made it generally known that he was in favor of the amendment and would ardently support the suffrage resolution. In spite of the claims of Mr. Varney's friends that he would win by a large majority, he was defeated by a vote of 130 to 94 in favor of Mr. Tobey, whose election was later made unanimous.

THE advance guard of the legislature of New Hampshire included besides a few leaders of the House, Senator Moses, himself, "who divided his time," according to the press of New Hampshire, "between Mr. Varney and the Woman's Party members."

At that time, Senator Moses again made clear his position on the suffrage amendment. The Daily Patriot of Concord, N. H., in reporting this statement says:

"Senator Moses made his position on the suffrage amendment clear, in a statement given to The Patriot, last night, at the Eagle. He said in positive terms that he will be guided in his vote by the action of the New Hampshire Legislature on the question. If the claims of the suffragists about the preponderance of sentiment in favor of suffrage among the legislatures are borne out, the federal amendment is as good as passed. Senator George H. Moses said:

'I first stated my opinion on the suffrage question on the day that Miss Betty Gram of the National Woman's Party called upon me and said that she had transferred her headquarters from the District jail in Washington to the Eagle Hotel in Concord. I have stated my position on the suffrage question so often since that day that it has become almost a formula, and this is it:

'I do not regard suffrage as a party question, and I am sure it never had any standing as a war measure. I question whether the women of the country will be materially benefited by woman suffrage. But I do regard the senatorship as a representative office, and I think a senator should undertake to follow the sentiment of his state in a matter of this kind if he can find out what the sentiment is.

'In New Hampshire there is no referendum, and we must have recourse to representative bodies for the determination of public opinion. One such body is the Legislature, which is large enough to be thoroughly representative—and if the Legislature should express its opinion that a question like suffrage should be submitted to the State through an amendment to the Federal Constitution, I do not think a Senator would be justified in disregarding such a representative body of his constituents.'"

ON THE same day the New Hampshire suffragists held a meeting at which plans were made to conduct a still more vigorous campaign on Senator Moses.

Headquarters of the National Woman's Party have been opened in Concord at the Eagle Hotel. Many members of the legislature were interviewed as soon as the session convened. Due to the fact that so many legislators were already familiar with the purpose of the campaign because of the previous campaign for their signatures to the resolution, the tremendous task of reaching over four hundred legislators was made much easier. Some of the men who did not sign the petition have since decided to vote for the resolution.

Leaders have been lined up in each county as rapidly as possible. In the short recess of last week, preceding the reconvening of the legislature on Tuesday, members of the National Woman's Party went into ten counties to continue interviewing legislators. Miss Catherine Flanagan covered Carroll and Belknap counties; Miss Elsie Hill and Miss Ruth Park, of Warren, N. H., went into Grafton and Coos counties, where they have almost completed their work; Miss Clara Louise Rowe worked in Hillsborough county; Miss Bertha Arnold completed the work in Strafford and is working in Cheshire and Sullivan counties; Miss Margaret Whittemore completed Merrimack, and Miss Sallie Hovey finished Rockingham.

AT a meeting of the Textile Union in Manchester at which Miss Clara Louise Rowe spoke, the following resolutions were adopted.

"Whereas, the United States House of Representatives almost a year ago passed the National Suffrage Amendment extending sufffrage to woman, and

"Whereas, the President of the United States has urged the Senate to do the same in recognition of woman's devoted service in the recent war,

"Whereas, the President's mission abroad as the world leader of democracy for all people seeking self-government is greatly weakened by the Senate failure to extend self-government to twenty million American women, and,

"Whereas, the countries of Europe including England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, Australia, Canada, Russia, Iceland even Germany, Austria and Hungary have all enfranchised their women, and,

"Whereas, the measure now lacks only one vote of passage through the Senate, therefor,

"Be it resolved, the Manchester Members of the United Textile Workers of America in meeting assembled this 30th day of December 1918, call upon the New Hampshire Legislature to pass a resolution requesting the Senators from New Hampshire to work and vote for the passage of the National Suffrage Amendment this session of Congress."

According to Miss Stevens, "The women have encountered not more than five men who are positive that they will vote against the resolution. The usual response is, 'I want not only to vote for it, but to fight for it if it needs fighting for; but I don't believe that you'll need fighting, as it looks as though it will go through without any delay."

A LETTER was sent out this week by Mr. Alexander Murchie, Chairman of the Democratic State Committee, to every Democratic member of the Legislature calling his attention to the resolution and asking for support of the resolution.

"May It Please Your Honor"

A True Story

By M. Toscan Bennett, LL. D.

MY wife was arrested the other day. Yesterday she was sent to jail. You see she had been trying to get the idea over to Europe that democracy was starving in these United States, that democracy had been "Wilsonized" so long that the intellectual digestive apparatus had gotten sadly out of gear.

But perhaps you don't know what I mean by democracy being "Wilsonized." It is a new word and ought to be explained. Well, you all know what it means to "Hooverize" by this time. You eat bread without any wheat, beef-steak made from peanuts, and butter made from cocoanut oil. In brief, to "Hooverize" means to fill one's stomach with things "that ain't so."

Now to "Wilsonize" is to fill one's head with things "that ain't so" and after a while your head sort of revolts just as your stomach used to do after months of "Hooverizing". You get the idea. Words without action don't satisfy the head any more than beef-steak minus the beef does the humble "tummy".

I don't know whether it was the "Hooverizing" or the "Wilsonizing" or my thoughts on the dirt, bugs, and worms which were to be my wife's closest companions during the following days which distressed me last night, but at any rate I was very restless and in that condition of half-sleeping, half-waking, which is the common lot of all those who are unable to accomplish the final plunge into dreamless slumber, I imagined myself addressing the court which tried my wife for her guilty ideas.

My argument was not a real true legal argument such as one ordinarily hears in court today but was a cross between the jumble of a half-dream and the kind of discussion which may be heard in courts some day when they are constituted primarily for the protection of human life, human liberty, and human happiness rather than for the protection of inhuman and unhuman property. Here is my argument:

"May It Please Your Honor,

"If it seems that I am unduly disturbed, if my emotions appear to be somewhat aroused, I trust that the Court will be kindly indulgent both towards my conduct and towards my words for I am here today under a heavy responsibility; I bear a three-fold burden.

"To one of the prisoners at the bar I bear a triple relationship. I am her counsel. I am her husband. But over all and above all, for twenty years I have been her co-worker in the cause of democracy.

"Having thus introduced somewhat of personality, mayhaps I will be pardoned if I indulge myself once more in the same manner.

"When the Republican Party was formed, my grand-father became its faithful follower until his death. My father never voted otherwise than straight Republican. Thus was I born into a religious creed and never did I falter in that faith until Mr. President Wilson threw himself upon the country and prayed its support in his fight for democracy.

"Then and then only did I turn from the political path of my forbears to follow the leadership of Woodrow Wilson towards his promised land of the new freedom. My wife worked as he requested, publicly spoke for his candidates and would have so voted had she had the power. I too worked and actually voted in accordance with his appeal.

"And now, may it please your Honor, after all this we find ourselves in your Court, she as accused, I as her counsel. And for what?

"Because she and I are both tired of words, words, always words. We are done with promises of a land of new freedom. We are sick of a democracy which is always just around the corner. We are suspicious of a spirit of liberty which never materializes. In fact we are at last come to demand action by action.

"But the action for which these prisoners are here arraigned was symbolic. It was not direct action. It was symbolic of the impatience of thousands of women after long, weary years of waiting, years which have, too, been filled with promises of a new freedom, not so specific, so immediate as those of Mr. President Wilson to be sure, but still specific enough to have averted action symbolic or direct..

"At first this symbolic action was not interfered with. Then, for some strange reason, known only, it would seem, to that incomprehensible, self-denied thing called "Government", that policy was reversed and these and other women were arrested for demanding that the President clean his own house of its autocratic filth either before or at least contemporaneously with his undertaking his Herculanean-Aegean task in Europe.

"Why this sudden reversal of policy? Is Government so blind, so stupid, so obsessed with its own fears that by crushing out symbolic action it leaves only direct action available?

"Your Honor must know, as every intelligent person knows, that the charges with which the prisoners at bar and their predecessors in this favorite haunt of fighters for democracy, are confronted, are ridiculous charges. There have not been at any time any substantial damages to government property. There has been no bon-fire within the meaning of the law. Why, your Honor, every time you make your weary way into this court-room, you destroy government property by that thousandth part of an inch which you wear off its floor. And might I ask your Honor if an "All-Hot" vendor has ever been before the court on a bon-fire charge because he maintained his charcoal blaze under his kettle?

"I call your attention to this fact and ask this question because I am a stranger to Washington and its courts but I do know that when the Law gets onto the toboggan-slide which leads down from the sublimity of substantial justice to the absurdity of petty persecution, that the going is so fine and sometimes so rapid that one gets to the bottom before one knows it. Then comes the bump.

"I would also ask if government property was destroyed and bon-fires were kindled on 'Armistice Night?' This happened in some communities I know but there were no arrests. Were there many arrests in Washington? And yet your Honor must be aware that the celebrants were so leniently dealt with on that occasion because they thought that democracy had achieved a victory over autocracy, freedom over serfdom, liberty and humanity over slavery and cruelty.

"These women, your Honor, these prisoners at the bar are trying to make that 'thought' come true. That is why they are here. That is the only reason why they are here. Is their crime, either in theory or in fact, so much greater than that of the armistice celebrants, that they must be imprisoned while the others are smiled upon, applauded, and encouraged?

"A moment ago, your Honor, I referred to the situation in Europe. Europe brings to mind Russia, and Russia in turn the Bolsheviks.

"Many grave charges have been brought against Bolsheviks. Most of them, if we are to believe such papers as The Nation, the New Republic, and The Dial would appear to be lies. But one of these charges, your Honor, seems to me so much more serious than all the others put together that I have taken particular pains to examine into it personally with the greatest of care. I have read nearly every thing available. I have talked with those who were in Russia at the time of the Revolution and with yet others who knew the facts.

"The charge to which I refer is that the Bolsheviks are undemocratic. This charge is based upon the fact that they have disfranchised some of the Russian people. The fact is true. The Bolsheviks are guilty of the crime of being undemocratic. But let us compare the situation in Russia today with the situation in this country.

"The Bolsheviks have disfranchised five per cent of the people of Russia because they are non-workers. They have established a "work-qualification" for the franchise, as it were, instead of a property qualification such as we have in some of the more backward states of this country. There is no sex qualification and the age limit is 18. Any disfranchised person

(except idiots, insane, etc.) can escape the penalty of disfranchisement by becoming a 'worker. So you see, your Honor, although the charge against the Bolsheviks is technically true, that it is not, practically, of much importance.

"Now let us compare this enlightened country with 'darkest Russia' along this same line. Here, outside of the suffrage states, fifty per cent of our citizens are disfranchised simply because of their sex. There is absolutely no way whereby these can escape the penalty of their disfranchisement. To the five per cent of Russians disfranchised because they will not become workers, we have fiftey per cent of Americans disfranchised because they cannot become men.

"Surely, your Honor, these comparative pictures of Russia and the United States will, in some measure, serve to explain to you as it has to all real lovers of democracy why these women are prisoners at the bar of your court and, therefor, with one concluding question, I will leave them to you for your administration of justice. My question is this:

"Which is worse the Bolshevism of obstruction, which is the Bolshevism of reactionary America, or the Bolshevism of destruction, which is the Bolshevism of revolutionary Russia? It seems to me, and I would therefore respectfully submit, that as the former must inevitably lead to the latter, it is clearly our duty to do everything in our power to banish the one in order that we may escape the dire penalties of the other."

And then I went to sleep and dreamed dreams of dirt, bugs, and worms.

The Administration's Power to Pass Suffrage

By Annie G. Porritt, Press Chairman, Connecticut Branch, National Woman's Party

Reprint From the Hartford, (Conn.) Post, Dec. 23. 1918

IT seems to be the impression of many men who believe themselves to be sincerely in favor of woman suffrage that the enfranchisement of women is a movement that can go on indefinitely and that it does not matter whether women get their political rights now or a hundred years hence.

Now if it were a question of some political reform that men were pushing there would be a totally different attitude about it. It would become a matter of immediate necessity and the political party that espoused it would be looked to to push it through Congress and to get it into operatoin. Not so with the federal suffrage amendment. The President has come out openly in favor of the amendment. He has urged it on both the House and the Senate, but after urging it he stands aside and leaves the responsibility of the movement wholly on voteless women. In other words, he has given lip-support to the amendment, but he has not given it the support of action.

It is just the same with the chairman of the woman suffrage committee who has the measure in hand and who is piloting it through Congress. Senator Jones tells the women that he will bring up the measure when they have got enough votes to pass it. But he is not troubling himself to get those votes. That task he, too, leaves to voteless women—to women who have not the influence with Senators that is possessed by voting constituents. If it were a tariff bill or any other measure, the chairman of the committee that was responsible would be moving heaven and earth for the success of his bill. Because it is a woman's measure, the women themselves must do all the work. The Senators will only move when all the hard labor has been accomplished by the women.

Now just compare the conduct of the President and the Democratic Senators when the Underwood-Simmons tariff bill was going through the Senate. Everyone knows that it was a tremendous task to get the bill through Congress. Every Senator and every Congressman was willing to have the other fellow's protection cut down, but every one of them trembled when it came to decreasing the protective duties of the interests of his own constituency. The New England Democrats did not want to offend either the manufacturers or the workingmen of the manufacturing states of the East. The Southern Senators thought about sugar and tobacco. Democrats of the Middle West felt tenderly about wheat and flour and wool and lumber and all the other products of their states.

What did the President do? What did Senator Simmons do? Were they content just to say that they were in favor of a lower tariff and then leave it to some free-trade or duties-for-revenue-only league to get the votes for the measure in the House of Representatives and in the Senate? Did they sit back and wait until these votes were ready and then condescend to bring forward the bill to be voted upon? Of course everybody knows that it would have been ridiculous for the Democratic Administration to do any such thing. On the contrary, the Administration and the leaders in the House and Senate used every bit of power and influence they possessed to bring all the Democrats into line. The only way to get the measure through was for the Democrats to caucus on it first. In the caucus Democratic differences of opinion were thoroughly threshed out, and every man was at liberty to vote his objections, but when once the caucus had voted, all the Democrats were bound to accept the majority decision and to use their votes in accordance with it when the clauses of the bill were discussed in the House or in the Senate. Had it not been for the caucus vote, the discontented Democrats and the opposition of the Republicans might have killed clause after clause and have made it absolutely impossible for the Democratic Administration to fulfill its pledges to the electors and to pass a tariff measure lowering duties.

Now whether it was wise or not to pass the Underwood-Simmons act is no concern of mine. I am only using this instance for illustration of what the National Woman's Party means by deeds not words. Similar pressure from the President and from the party leaders was used again and again for every measure of first-class importance that President Wilson thought vital to his policies. Similar pressure was used for the repeal of the Panama Canal tolls, for banking reform, for the acts controlling big business, for various war measures. In not one of these cases did the President and the Democratic leaders sit back and expect some voluntary association outside Congress to do all the work for them while they as a party should take credit for the success of the policy.

This is the answer of the National Woman's Party to the critics of their policy who ask them what more they want from President Wilson. "No public man has spoken more forcibly for suffrage, nor has it ever been urged upon the floor of Congress with more sincerity than the President urged it both before the recent election and again prior to his departure for Europe"—thus says one of these critics. If the President really is sincere, why is the measure not taken up by the Democratic Administration and put through Congress just as the Administration has put through all other vital measures? Why is this case alone left to outsiders—and voteless outsiders moreover—to do all the work of gaining support for it; when party discipline has again and again overcome obstacles far more serious than the obstacles—the very small minority obstacles—which stand in the way of the federal suffrage amendment?

It should be remembered that of the minority of 33 Senators who are obstinately refusing to permit the passage of the amendment over 20 are Democrats. These Democrats are of the President's party—the party of which he is definitely and unmistakably the leader. The National Woman's Party is not asking the President to be the dictator of Congress; but it is asking him to assert his leadership of his own party as he has already done over and over again. The recent demonstration at Washington is successful if it calls attention to these conditions.

Comments of the Press

"Suffragists Making "Hero" Pages in History

IN their protest against "taxation without representation," those brave men and "leading citizens" of Boston town staged that expensive "Boston Tea Party"—disguised, of course, as Indians, since it would have been embarrassing for "prominent men" to be seen in the lawless act of destroying expensive tea.

In their protest against "taxation without representation" those awful women and would-be citizens of the United States staged another demonstration in Washington last Tuesday. They were not disguised. They are so earnest in their demand for justice that they go to jail for their convictions.

The Boston Tea Party has been cited all the years as a most noble protest. Children are taught to revere the brave MEN who dared to dress up as Indians and dump that cargo of precious tea into the sea.

And some day the histories will eulogize the WOMEN of 1918 who without violence—but with exceptional cleverness, let us admit—have carried on the honest fight for political justice for the women of the United States.

Men have secured the right to vote only through violence and bloodshed. They have achieved liberty and political privilege by what is known as "mob-power" until the cause was won; and then the methods used and the power invoked are painted with heroic colors and folks wear emblems in honor of such ancestry.

Today in their fight for American citizenship, the women who are weary of pleading and cajolery and cognizant of the reasons men have for maintaining a monopoly of citizenship, have been staging some 1918 protests, without violence—except the violence directed against them by men policemen employed by men to enforce man made laws.

Some day, of course, the children in the schools will be taught to reverse the memories of the women who are daring to fight for their rights—Joan of Arc, it will be remembered, was burned at the stake by forefathers of English soldiers who today reverently stand with bared heads at her tomb!

But how the Englishmen of Joan of Arc's time hated her! She usurped the rights of men—even more, she inconsiderately proved herself the greatest of soldiers and the most fearless of leaders of her day. They could not forgive her for such scandalous behavior. They burned her alive.

But history is full of such happenings. Socrates was compelled to drink the cup of hemlock, because he was teaching the youth of Athens that they had souls. His teaching was directly contrary to belief in the oracle of Delphi, to belief in Apollo and Neptune and Hermes and the rest of the gods of ancient Greece. He offended monopolists in Athens who could run the government better when men could be ruled through their fear of the supernatural.

And so these suffragists—these "suffpests" as they are called by angry men who, like angry men of every era, are opposed to a struggle for justice—these suffragists are adding heroic pages to the histories of coming years. It is good of them not to commit murder and start conflagrations as has always been the custom in wars for liberty and justice.—Miami (Fla.) Metropolis, December, 1918.

Up to Pollock

FEW men ever have such an opportunity as has come to Senator Pollock. He was elected to fill out a term in the United States Senate and will only have a few months of service in that body. Ordinarily a man has to serve in the Senate for years before he has a chance to distinguish himself. Pollock can do so at once—and it is his duty to do so. The fate of woman's suffrage is quivering on the balance. Two more votes will turn the balance in favor of genuine democracy in this country. If he will immediately and positively declare his intention to vote in favor of the amendment, there is reason to believe his declaration will determine a decision by the other senator whose vote is needed to turn the trick.

Woman's suffrage is coming in this country. That is inevitable. The trend of the times is in that direction. The process of word thought favors the conclusion that in a true democracy women shall have the right to vote as well as the duty to pay taxes.

President Wilson has asked for this progress. What will be Pollock's reply? Will he be a Bourbon, like E. D. Smith, or will he line up with the advanced thought of the age? Is he playing politics by withholding his decission? If so it is a poor brand of politics. What he should do is to positively state at once that he will vote for the suffrage amendment. If he will do that, this great and needed reform can be put through and this country will no longer stand before the world denying at home the democracy for which it fought in Europe.

It's up to you, Senator Pollock. What are you going to do?—The Piedmont, Greenville, S. C., Nov. 27. 1918.

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